/643 cont./

867 whom you really like. At first every chap will be so agreeable; later when he has married you, it turns out that he is crude or lazy or unbearable. Then you will have to suffer. So, consider before you decide!" Nelly added: "One must warn young girls and make them alert, otherwise they will thoughtlessly and prematurely say 'yes' to the first chap who comes along. Later when the young couple find they are unsuited to each other, the elders among their relatives will suffer for it just as much as they themselves!" Likewise /644/ the young man is given a definite hint by his uncle to take as his bride only the girl with whom "he will live peaceably for the rest of his life."

584 That there is freedom in the first choice can also be deduced
586 from the right every woman has to run away from the husband who treats her badly or does not provide enough food for her. How could she be taken in again by her parents, which is generally done, if she had previously been actually sold? Her male relatives warn the husband and threaten to take back the mistreated wife. They would not dare do this if he had bought her for a price.

584 It very seldom happens that two young people become
588 united if there is a strained relationship or open hostility between their parents. If such a match should be developing, the parents of the boy and those of the girl make insulting, even threatening remarks against the other party within their own family but in order to thwart their children's intentions. It may be that a preliminary inclination toward a marital union will sooner or later disappear under this influence. Out of respect for her own parents the girl will forego her heart's desire, and since she makes no fuss about this, her closest relatives will not interfere on her behalf.

588 Still more awkward is the exceptional case of a girl who is
587 an orphan and very much dependent on her uncle and aunt. The
• 136 latter, driven by stubbornness or ambition, insistently urge her to
604 choose the chap they recommend. If the solitary girl is unable to resist adequately, she will finally accede to their urging. My informers emphasized that such a case was rare, and that the previous history of the case would become publicly known only if this forced marriage, so to speak, should, in an exceptional instance, be dissolved.

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834 in the selection of a mate (22).

22. If we consider the prevalent ideas in the free selection of a mate, we realize the absolute similarity and unanimity between our Yamana and the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 321).

/646/ 5. The Duty of Marrying a Widow

587 Apparently the levirate which is in effect among the Yamana deprives the widow of her freedom. I have the distinct impression that the rules pertaining to this are at least as specific and as definitely observed as among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 347). I learned the following details from Fred Lawrence and Calderon.

587 604 736 Every Indian is familiar with the obligation of taking his widowed sister-in-law, along with her children, into his hut (24).

24. Only Hahn (a):805 mentioned the levirate among the Yamana. We might also deduce it from the following words of Bridges: "Brothers often take their deceased brothers' wives" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 117;1869); we cannot deduce from these words, however, a real obligation, which actually exists. See footnote on page 418.

but it is emphasized much more definitely that he must care for his nephews and nieces; there is less insistence that he devote himself to the widow, whether or not she wishes to marry. If these half-orphaned children have no grandparents and their mother does not decide to marry another man, the uncle must take them into his own hut where he must care for them as though they were his own. Above all, their sustenance is to be guaranteed. The group as a whole takes care of their participation in the youth initiation which sooner or later becomes necessary. From now on the paternal uncle takes the place of his deceased brother for the still immature orphans in all matters pertaining

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587 to social life. Naturally, adult nephews and nieces who are
604 married are not under the guardianship of their uncle. If the de-
736 ceased has several brothers, these obligations fall upon the old-
est, but not infrequently a younger brother comes forward, espe-
cially if he has his eye on his widowed sister-in-law. At any
rate, the brothers come to an agreement, and usually the one
who wants to take advantage of the opportunity promptly and
boldly takes charge without interference by the others.

The eldest brother, as such, has a priority to his widowed sister-in-law. It is well known that brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are not prevented from marrying. The duty of an unmarried brother-in-law to take the widow almost borders on coercion. Differences in age have nothing to do with it. The widow has a perfectly free choice, but she can hardly resist the pressure put upon her by her brother-in-law if some outsider does not court her. If the widow actually exercises her right and marries another man instead of her brother-in-law, the latter is not relieved of his care for the children. He has to take the nephews and nieces if the new stepfather does not care to rear them. He is then content to know that his sister-in-law is taken care of economically. His nephews and nieces, however, will always have strong support from their paternal uncle, since his obligation toward them never ceases.

587 /647/ A married brother-in-law adequately fulfills his duty toward his widowed sister-in-law if he helps her toward economic security. Marrying her depends partly on the consent of his own wife. If the widow wishes to marry another man or to remain unmarried with one of her children or with relatives of her deceased husband, he does not prevent her from doing so. Sometimes the
587 brother-in-law takes advantage of the favorable opportunity to
586 enter into a new marriage if he is not satisfied with his first wife. Whether or not the latter agrees, he brings the widowed sister-in-law into his hut, and the only thing usually achieved by it is that the other withdraws, which is what he intended. It is even regarded as legal that a married man leave his first wife and, in her stead, take his widowed sister-in-law into his hut. If their married life was not very happy, she, too, is usually very glad of the solution, and her relatives take her in with open arms. This duty of marrying a widow is practiced even in modern times.

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587 Gertie lost her first husband, who was killed on an otter hunt. Immediately her brother-in-law sent away his wife and took Gertie. When he died, she joined Chris with whom she is still living. The latter had lost his first wife to a Turk in Ushuaia. If a widow runs after her brother-in-law, it is impossible for him to get rid of her, even if he is married.

[589] In Yamana economy it is almost impossible for a widow to maintain herself alone. Hence she cannot long remain unmarried, and she herself is compelled to try to remarry. This is obvious in the complete meaning of the word kwinan, and BD:225 states it fully: "A woman lately a widow, taken as a wife by another" /cited in English/. Usually a man soon proposes to her, for a young, able widow accomplishes more and is more valuable to him than a girl who is still inexperienced. I was assured that a widower had an even greater right to his recently widowed sister-in-law, namely, that he may force her to marry him, and that he can even take the recalcitrant one by the hair and drag her into his hut. Although this right is granted, a man has scarcely ever made use of it, for he must consider the fact that such a refractory sister-in-law will run away from him at the first opportunity. A widow, however, cannot actually coerce her brother-in-law into marrying her, and even less when he is already married. To be sure he can never evade the duty of taking care of his half-orphaned nephews and nieces in one way or another, if they are not provided for elsewhere.

587 607 In general, persons related by marriage show a certain deference and mutual respect for each other. On this account the brother-in-law and widowed sister-in-law who have married are consciously respectful toward each other during the first few months. They talk remarkably little and always very softly.

587 •736 595 Thus, since a married man has the right and a certain obligation to care for his widowed sister-in-law, no one disapproves if he lets her come into his hut as his second wife. She must be /648/ economically secure and have no interference in making a free choice. This is the more comprehensive and final meaning of the obligation toward widow-marriage. It is even more important that the half-orphans be well cared for and properly reared under all circumstances (25).

25. The obligation of the levirate is partly

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responsible for the fact that many husbands have a second wife, and that many younger men are married to an older widow who has brought him the children of her deceased husband.

6. Participation of the Relatives

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604 The paternal uncle, indáruwa, unmistakably occupies a privileged position regarding his nephews and nieces. This is clearly evident at the time of the death of his married brother, as well as during his nephew's courtship and marriage. In the above lines we have already given a few data on the position of other adults relative to the marital plans of young people.

Following the dictates of his own heart, the young lad goes courting and tries to win the girl who promises to fulfill all his desires. The young lovers meet as often as possible, and their mutual affection grows as time goes on. If there is no pressure of outside circumstances, they amuse themselves in their amorous play without thinking of marrying soon. In their innermost conviction they have long since decided that they wish to belong together for life, without, however, expressing this openly to each other. And why should they! For the time being, neither of them reveals his feelings and intentions to his own parents; "they are somewhat ashamed!" I was told. A male neighbor and a female friend finally get the boy and girl to speak by making intimate allusions.

After the clandestine meetings and the love affair that can no longer be concealed have lasted long enough for the adults, the paternal uncle, indáruwa, one day decides to approach the boy very directly: "You have been meeting this girl for some time now. I finally ought to talk to your father about it!" Or he says: "We cannot go on seeing you daily with your beloved much longer. I shall soon inform your father in case you want to marry her!" This and similar expressions state the wish of the older relative to help the boy attain his goal. The latter realizes it. He takes this opportunity and has his uncle put the proposition before his father. Sometimes, if a boy wishes to reach his goal

/713 cont./

608 of the little creature as though it were her child. The friend usually comes to the mother voluntarily and announces her wish; the pregnant woman sees to it that at her confinement an adopted mother has actually been agreed upon for the child. She need not be personally present at the birth, but she is almost never absent. Every newborn child, whether boy or girl, is without exception placed under the protection of a foster mother, adakutáruwaxípa. Her husband, known as adakutáruwa, likewise enters into a certain relationship to that child, but does not play a noteworthy part. We might best characterize the position and significance of the adakutáruwaxípa if we speak of her as the second mother of the child. She concerns herself with it and cares for it from the first day of its life, sometimes given the mother advice even before confinement, is helpful to her and the child, and attends both during and after the confinement. She follows the growth of the child with attentive devotion, visits it often, and sends it presents. As soon as it is old enough to understand, the child is taught to be obedient and devoted to its foster mother, just as to its own mother. The former even has, so to speak, more rights and influence than the latter. Her voice has much weight in important decisions. When the time approaches for the obligatory youth initiation, she makes the final decision; when her foster child is considering marriage, she, sometimes without the parents' knowledge, turns the scales. The relation of the foster mother to her ward is always intimate, and every woman is very much concerned with the duties she has voluntarily chosen.

608 By giving the child an adakutáruwaxípa, they doubtless wish
•736 to make his progress, training, and protection secure against any emergency. In Tierra del Fuego it occasionally happens that the dangerous way of life of the parents results in an accident, and they are killed before their children reach maturity. It is true that relatives must take care of orphans, no matter how many there are, and most families are large, but the institution we speak of, in which each child has its foster mother, offers ample security when a child is orphaned, no matter what happens (139). They do not

139. Martial:198 is without doubt referring to this when he says: "Sometimes the child is adopted at the moment of its birth by some

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friend who acts as a sort of godmother, fulfilling this function very well" /translated from French/. Hyades (q):375 expresses himself more explicitly, saying that certain women "will later also be called 'mother' by the small children whom she helped bring into the world" /translated from French/.

let the same woman adopt several children of one mother.

608 The relationship between the two /714/ is never dissolved throughout their lifetimes. When the child is married, the foster mother continues to champion and help him. If the child has lost his parents, the foster mother lives nearby or even in the same hut. Not infrequently the adakutfruwaxipa assumes the sponsorship in the čiŋxaxa for her foster child which still more closely links the two together.

4. Treatment of the infant

854 [851] Neighbors tell each other about the birth of a child as a joyous event. Some women hasten to the place out of curiosity and discuss the process in great detail with the mother; they like to give advice and are willing to perform any service. Above all, the parents themselves *outdo each other in demonstrations of love for* their child. All observers agree with Bridges (h):208 that "children are the object of tender concern" /translated from Spanish/. The father also loves to play with his little darling, and although he does not know how to be nearly as tender as his wife, he is not surpassed by her when it comes to sincerity and paternal happiness. Anxious about the welfare of the child, the father sometimes gives her advice about care and nourishment; occasionally both parents discuss the present condition of their child and its future. They circumspectly avoid everything that might harm it, and they guard it solicitously day and night. In general, the husband does not criticize the way his wife handles the baby, for he can rely on her; after all, she is well advised by neighbor women, and he follows

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her suggestion if it is required for the child's welfare. His wife becomes even dearer to him because of her efforts and care for the child, and from one confinement to the next he appreciates her more. This increases the regard for her among the whole family.

Once more we should like to emphasize that children are the joy of their parents' life. This is what Hyades (p):331 means when he says: "Parents love their children very much" /translated from French/. His assertion, "They caress them very rarely, practically never /translated from French/, is, however, false. True, in another place Hyades (f):586 is right when he says, "they do not know how to kiss" /translated from French/, but parents frequently do press their mouths or their entire faces against the head and face of the infant, pick it up with both hands under its shoulders and lift it high, pass their fingers playfully over its entire body when it lies on its back, and finally provide it with all kinds of happy visual impressions by means of pantomime. They also give their darling a real kiss, ŋušu, on the /715/ cheeks, which has been customary since ancient times between parents and their newborn child -- not, however, between adults. By and large, they dandle and play with their small child exactly the way European parents do. With them, however, all this goes on soundlessly, and they are less tempestuous in their caresses. For the sake of the baby, the parents carefully observe all the restrictions imposed on them before and after confinement (140). The death of a child is viewed as an irreplace-

140. Bridges (a):183 reports: "Should a sucking child fall sick, its sickness is sure to be attributed to something the mother has eaten, who, under these circumstances, does not eat whale blubber" /cited in English/.

able loss.

If a mother dies soon after her delivery, another woman will be most willing to take charge of the orphaned baby immediately. Almost always this is done by one of the closest relatives, usually an aunt. The father actually does not have to bother about finding a nurse himself. Purely out of sympathy for the orphan, many women vie for it. No matter who takes it, it is just as safe and well

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protected in her hands as in those of its mother (141).

141. Lovisato (b):150 simply repeats what Bridges (a):183 observed long before: "If the mother dies, the little one soon finds a foster-mother, by whom considerable affection is shown" /cited in English/.

142 Occasionally it has been maintained that the children are conspicuously small at birth, and Bridges (i):21 writes: "The children are decidedly small at birth and to this fact may be chiefly attributed the mother's immunity from danger" /cited in English/. Bove (e):158 repeats this. Nothing justifies this assumption, and it is a fact that Bridges was by no means in a position to prove it. The color of the skin of the newborn child is considerably lighter than that of adults and later becomes somewhat darker. Fitz-Roy (a):176 says about the Yamana and Halakwulup in general: "Little children are nearly of the same hue as their parents' skin is when cleaned; but infants are, for a few days, rather lighter coloured" [143] /cited in English/. The slight differences in the skin color of newborn children are hereditary.

143 There is a story dealing with the external appearance of the little ones, which old Čenetin, father of Chris, sometimes told young women: "A long time ago a woman became pregnant. She was delivered extraordinarily quickly, and the child left the mother's womb without the slightest hindrance. Immediately it stretched its limbs, stood up by itself, and walked around a bit, for it was strong and sturdy enough to do this. Immediately after that it hastened back into its mother's womb. Thus the belly of that woman grew big. But soon the child again left its mother's womb, stood up, and walked about freely for a little while; then it hastened back in again. Motionlessly the mother lay there and grew big; she did not know what was happening to her. Since the child came out again and once more returned, she grew ever /716/ weaker. Meanwhile the child had grown and become larger, so she, too, swelled constantly. Finally she died as she once more lay on her sleeping place near the fire. At once she dissolved into nothingness, as though she had never consisted of flesh and bones. --

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862 gradually /720/grow accustomed to another diet. Such a pacifier, ůilĕměiki, is nothing more than a piece of fatty tissue of the loggerhead duck, ĭlakuš (Tachyeres brachypterus), as long as a finger and thick enough so that the child cannot swallow it. The fatty tissue of this duck is chosen because it is particularly tasty and full of liquid. Before it is given to the child, it is roasted at the fire to a light brown. It is replaced at least once a day. The babies do not present a very clean appearance with this pacifier, because the liquid fat smears the entire face, chest, and both little hands, but there is nothing better to be had in Tierra del Fuego. In later months the baby is given a juicy little piece of meat of this same duck, the size of a finger and slightly roasted. This is the only baby food, for it is scarcely possible to obtain milk from a guanaco, and there are no other milk-giving animals. Like their neighbors on Isla Grande (Vol. I, 378), the Yamana women of today cannot decide to give their darlings the milk of cows or goats or the condensed milk introduced by the Whites.

853 The Yamana take it for granted that only the mother nurses her own child. It would never occur to her to place the child at
•736 the breast of another woman. Of course, if she is constantly sick and incapable of nursing, or if she dies, the child is taken by another woman and she alone feeds it. Nelly told me: "It is not good for the child to drink alternately from this or that woman." Every Indian woman, however, is glad to help out in an emergency, especially if the baby suddenly becomes an orphan (152), and, as

> 152. This alone is the meaning of Bridges' (i):21 and (h):208 words: "In the absence of the mother any other woman would feed the child rather than let it suffer" /cited in English/.

Dabbene (b):190 quite rightly says: "If the mother dies, some woman friend of hers assumes responsibility for the orphan" /translated from Spanish/.

862 Long before the final weaning takes place, the child sucks only occasionally and is nourished chiefly with the meat-pacifiers mentioned above. Then, as Nelly confessed to me, the mother smears her breast thickly with whale blubber, the taste of which is very

421 /963/ They not only acknowledge that material goods have a definite owner who has sole right of disposal, but they also apply this acknowledgment to specific relationships between individuals. [857 Accordingly, children belong to both of their own parents as their property, and one spouse has an actual right to the other. Step-parents have similar rights to children who have only one parent or are completely orphaned. We shall soon discuss the fact that certain groups have a definite title of possession for sections of land marked off with boundaries.

The social order of the Yamana recognizes two types of property, namely, common possessions and personal property. The former is based on the absolute necessity of hunting and the roving mode of life. Since everyone, or rather the individual family, is thrown back on its own resources for a considerable time, it is also the sole, unrestricted master of everything it carries along, and it disposes of this quite freely. This distribution of possessions is natural; we come across it not only among all three Fuegians tribes, but quite generally among peoples with a low gathering economy.

It would be a mistake to regard the common property as a communistic form of possession, for the individual person only has the usufruct of it under certain conditions. In like manner it would [476] be incorrect to explain along these lines the obligation of mutual aid which is emphasized to a remarkable degree among the Yamana (379). Voluntary distribution of possessions in the form of

379. Hyades (q):243 opposed such an obviously false interpretation: "They like to share what they have with those around them, and one cannot say that this is because of the community of property. This community does not exist in Fuegia" /translated from French/.

booty and tools occurs as a result of social considerations, but leaves completely untouched the right of disposal itself.

1. Common Property

186 The consciousness of ethnic unity is very pronounced among
423 our Yamana, as among all primitive peoples. It is based on identity

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732 was really superfluous to teach us uwʃala in the cihuxa how we were to take care of him.

• 136 597 Elsewhere (p. 514) the concern of the public for orphans has been described in detail. The orphaned boy, wʃiakiya, as well as the orphaned girl, wʃiakiyakipa, remains with the surviving parent until the latter marries again. Bridges (a):202, 183 correctly asserts: "If the father of a woman is dead, the mother has the right of disposal...If the mother dies, the little one soon finds a foster-mother, by whom considerable affection is shown" /cited in English/. The nearest relatives, too, in particular the so-called adoptive mother, adakuʃuwaxipa, keep an eye on the orphans. If a nursing infant loses its mother, it is reared by another woman who gladly undertakes this service (445). Thus there is not the

> 445. The Yamana women, as Hahn (a):306 reports, "often rear foster children who do not belong to them, but the child is then regarded as their own and owes them the obedience and respect of an actual child" /translated from French/.

slightest doubt about the rearing of every orphan, which is assured.

81 /1029/ It is probably unnecessary to refute once more, as a figment of the imagination, the opinion circulated by Darwin in his day about the fate of old women. Bridges (k):235 undertook to do this decades ago: "The tales that have been spread about their killing old women who were unable to work are pure fables. These old women had as much security as other individuals as the tribe, for they had children and grandchildren who certainly would have defended them against any assault" /translated from Spanish/. Hyades (g):36 has made clear how valuable they can still be to the entire tribe: "The old women are by no means as useless as [Darwin's] story presupposes; their experience makes them decidedly valuable in securing food, as well as in the other household tasks, and it is not at all rare that young people prefer to marry an experienced older woman rather than a young girl, even though she is prettier. Older women whose husbands are dead very definitely exercise all the rights of a family head; even when they